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‘The Harmony of One Choir’? Music and Social Unity in Reformation Heidelberg

I.

Introduction

Throughout history, from Plato to the present day, music has been praised, reviled and polemicised for its unrivalled beauty and power to move the mind and body. When the Genevan Reformer John Calvin wrote in 1543 that ‘there is scarcely anything in the world which is more capable [than music] of turning or moving this way and that the morals of men’, he could have been describing Odysseus’s encounter with the sirens or twenty-first-century motivations for musical censorship in Iran under Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, equally as much as his target of bawdy song or extravagant sixteenth-century sacred vocal music.¹ Echoing Martin Luther’s claim that music is second only to theology in its ability to affect the body and mind, Heidelberg theologian Immanuel Tremellius—an Italian, Jewish convert to Calvinism—used the imagery of singing to illustrate the unifying power of scripture. The Psalm, he wrote, ‘gathers friends, drives away opponents and reconciles adversaries’ and ‘shows the great kindness of all the good things which men do together, just like singing together unites men, just like providing a chain in the mind, and joining the people together into the harmony of one choir’.²

To praise and utilise the unifying capabilities of music, which embodied and reflected the harmony of the spheres (*musica mundana*), was something of a topos following the Reformation. A setting of *Ecce quam bonum* (‘How good it is when brothers dwell together in unity’) by Ludwig Senfl (c.1486–c.1542), chapel master to Maximilian I and friend of

¹ Charles Garside, ‘The Origins of Calvin’s Theology of Music: 1536–1543’, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, lxi (1979), 33.

² Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, *Psalmi Davidis ex Hebraeo in Latinum Conversi* (London, 1580), preface. I have modified the English trans. in Kenneth Austin, “‘Epitome of the Old Testament, Mirror of God’s Grace, and Complete Anatomy of Man’: Immanuel Tremellius and the Psalms”, in Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean (eds.), *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Their Readers in the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden, 2012), 225.

Martin Luther, was performed at the 1530 Diet of Augsburg, where the doctrinal tenets of Lutheranism were first presented.³ Printed hymnbooks, frequently the creation of Protestant church leaders for use in their particular jurisdictions, contained prefaces praising local congregations for singing as one.⁴ Song was used to unify people not just locally but also across both time and space. Through music, underground Dutch Catholics saw themselves united with their pious pre-Reformation forebears as well as the growing Catholic community worldwide, as they sang ‘in unity’ (*in eenigheyd*) that Christ’s holy church is found ‘in all times, all places, and all peoples’.⁵ A desire for unity also sparked the creation of new compositional styles. The aim of the so-called cantional style, developed in parallel in Calvinist Geneva and Lutheran Württemberg in the 1560s, was to unite individual congregations through song. By placing a hymn’s melody in the upper voice of multi-voiced sacred song (rather than the interior tenor voice), it was believed that the soprano’s high timbre could help all members of a congregation to clearly hear and fully participate in singing the hymn’s tune with the choir, regardless of a person’s level of musical training or literacy.⁶

In some ways, praise like Tremellius’s—despite its clearly rhetorical and theological nature—was justified. It has long been known that music, corporate singing in particular, powerfully marked the membership and identity of different confessional churches. In the *chanteries* of the southern Netherlands, crowds of Calvinists sang Genevan psalms as they nightly marched through city streets in protest of Catholic rule. Participants in these acts of

³ Robin Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, 2007), 52.

⁴ One example comes from Lutheran Riga. *Kirchendienstordnung und Gesangbuch der Stadt Riga*, ed. Johannes Geffcken (Hannover, 1862), 146.

⁵ Benedict van Haefen, *Den Lusthofder Christelycke Leeringhe* (Antwerp, 1622), 78. See the preface to Petrus Maillart, *Den Gheestelijcken Nachtegael. Inhoudende Geestelijcke Lof-sangen op alle de Feest-dagen van deen gheheelen Iare* (Antwerp, 1634); and Rumoldus Batavus, *Nieu liedt-boecxken inhoudende verscheyden liedekens* (Antwerp, 1614), 139. ‘Eenigheyd’ has the double meaning of ‘loneliness’ and ‘being alone’, also meaningful in the context of clandestine communities.

⁶ Robin Leaver, ‘Genevan Psalm Tunes and the Lutheran Chorale Tradition’, in Eckhard Grunewald, Henning P. Jürgens and Jan R. Luth (eds.), *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden* (Tübingen, 2004), 150–1. See, for instance, Lucas Osiander’s *Fünffzig geistlicher Lieder und Psalmen mit vier Stimmen auff contrapunctsweise* (Nuremberg, 1586).

confessional solidarity, naturally seen as divisive by Catholic hearers, were often swiftly and severely punished.⁷ In German lands, groups of Protestants disrupted Catholic Masses by belting out identifiably Lutheran hymns, expressing their collective identity through a type of corporate acoustic revolt.⁸ In Rouen, the wide recognisability of Protestant repertoires helped Catholic soldiers engage in confessional dissimulation. Seeking entry into the heavily fortified city, the soldiers sang Genevan psalms on their approach in order to trick gatekeepers into thinking they were Calvinists.⁹

Scholars have picked up these threads and expounded on the unifying capabilities of music within confessional communities. In his magisterial survey *Protestant Church Music*, Friedrich Blume claimed that music was a ‘commonly intelligible language’ across the social stratum in the service of the Lutheran cause.¹⁰ Wolfgang Reinhard and other proponents of the confessionalization theory have viewed music as a powerful tool for crystallising the identities of confessional communities and homogenising each group’s distinctive rituals and beliefs.¹¹ Andrew Pettegree has described song’s persuasive and ‘pedagogic power to unite different sorts of people in a way that cuts across divisions between the literate and illiterate’.¹² Christopher Boyd Brown has claimed somewhat poetically that, through congregational song in public services of Lutheran Joachimsthal, ‘the various cultural and

⁷ Charles Rahlenbeck, ‘Les Chanteries de Valenciennes: Episodes de l’histoire du seizième siècle’, *Bulletin de la Commission de l’Histoire des Eglises Wallonnes*, iii (1888).

⁸ Jan-Friedrich Missfelder, ‘Akustische Reformation: Lübeck, 1529’, *Historische Anthropologie*, xx (2012). See also Patrice Veit, ‘Entre violence, résistance et affirmation identitaire: A propos du cantique de Luther “Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort” aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles’, in Kaspar von Greyerz and Kim Siebenhüner (eds.), *Religion und Gewalt: Konflikte, Rituale, Deutungen (1500–1800)* (Göttingen, 2006).

⁹ Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca, 2008), 69.

¹⁰ Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History*, trans. F. Ellsworth Peterson (London, 1975), 3.

¹¹ For a summary of confessionalization research, see Ute Lotz-Heuman, ‘Confessionalization’, in David M. Whitford (ed.), *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research* (Kirksville, Mo., 2008). For music, see Wolfgang Reinhard, ‘Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters’, *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* x (1983), 264; Alexander J. Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630* (Aldershot, 2004); Patrice Veit, ‘Kirchenlied und konfessionelle Identität im 16. Jahrhundert’, in Ursula Brunold-Bigler and Hermann Bausinger (eds.), *Hören, Sagen, Lesen, Lernen: Bausteine zu einer Geschichte der kommunikativen Kultur* (Bern, 1995).

¹² Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), 61.

social voices of the town were brought into remarkably harmonious consort'.¹³ Jonathan Willis has studied the 'harmonious aspects of congregational singing' as described by contemporaries of the Sternhold and Hopkins *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, and has found evidence that public prayer, an analogue to congregational song, was considered 'a time for individuality to be subsumed'.¹⁴

This picture of confessional cohesion and identity, especially over the last two decades, has also been rendered more complex. Scholars now accept the fluidity and blurriness of boundaries between ostensibly discrete confessional groups. In separate studies of art and music in Electoral Saxony, Bridget Heal and Mary Frandsen have demonstrated how Lutheran identity relied on Catholic and Italian models which, for ecclesiastical and state authorities, served to distance the territory from competing Calvinist territories and courts.¹⁵ Protestant school teachers and private music tutors often required their pupils to study Catholic vocal repertoires, including compositions incompatible with Lutheran or Calvinist liturgy and theology, in order to create cosmopolitan musicians knowledgeable of the latest trends.¹⁶

Yet, in the process of studying how music clearly demarcated confessional lines in some cases, while blurring them in others, scholars of music have left unaddressed the more fundamental point that the residents of seemingly uniform, mono-confessional Protestant cities clashed, sometimes violently, with an intensity that could rival that of warring

¹³ Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), 76.

¹⁴ Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Farnham, 2010), 215.

¹⁵ Mary Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (New York, 2006); Bridget Heal, "'Better Papist than Calvinist": Art and Identity in Later Lutheran Germany', *German History*, xxix (2011).

¹⁶ John Kmetz, 'The Piperinus—Amerbach Partbooks: Six Months of Music Lessons in Renaissance Basle', in John Kmetz (ed.), *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles and Contexts* (Cambridge, 1994); Matthew Laube, 'Confessional Networks, Cultural Exchange and the Printed Music of Jerome Commelin (c.1550–1597)', in Matthew McLean and Sara Barker (eds.), *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World* (Leiden, 2016).

confessional groups.¹⁷ Not only did urban dwellers after the Reformation frequently use music as a tool for emphasising rather than dissolving social divisions between different urban communities, but engagement with, and experience of, music could look vastly different from one social subgroup to the next.

It goes without saying that music does not efface all social difference, nor did the Reformation ever intend it to do so. Rulers, both ecclesiastical and secular, spanning the confessional spectrum, sought to patronise music which showcased their elevated rank. Middle and rising burgher classes turned to music to reflect their social ambition, giving rise to *Collegia Musica* and manifold other convivial domestic music groups.¹⁸ Hans-Christoph Rublack has traced how the politically unified citizenry of Nördlingen ‘negotiated’ the same *contrafactum* differently, altering and emphasising different aspects of the text in ways that reflected their engagement with the urban social system.¹⁹ Literacy, Robert Scribner and others have taught us, dictated the degree to which a person accessed song via oral transmission as opposed to text. Confessional communities often consisted of individuals spanning the entire spectrum of literacy and ability to perform a range of vocal music repertoires, including some who could perform lush polyphonic music from notation with ease, while others sang monophonic songs primarily or exclusively from memory.²⁰

Yet scholars of Reformation music have yet to treat adequately a range of other undeniable social factors in light of available repertoires for communal song. Factors such as personal and professional contacts, age, gender, domesticity, legal status, not to mention access to various urban spaces, conditioned not simply what types of music a person

¹⁷ Robert Scribner, ‘Civic Unity and the Reformation in Erfurt’, *Past and Present*, lxxvi (1975).

¹⁸ Stephen Rose, ‘Schein’s Occasional Music and the Social Order in 1620s Leipzig’, *Early Music History*, xxiii (2004).

¹⁹ Hans-Christoph Rublack, ‘The Song of Contz Anahans’, in Ronnie Po-chi Hsia (ed.), *The German People and the Reformation* (Ithaca, 1988).

²⁰ Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of the Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge, 1981), 2–3; Rebecca Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot, 2001); also Alexander J. Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity*, esp. Ch. 2 and 3.

experienced, but also how personal connections were built through music making. That song was capable of cutting across divisions of literacy or social station does not mean that Protestants most commonly used it for this end, nor that hierarchy did not frequently and strongly govern new expressions of community. It is, for instance, still insufficiently acknowledged by scholars that sixteenth-century congregational singing—a genre frequently considered a great social leveller and a sonic reflection of the Protestant belief in the priesthood of all believers—was performed in churches where social factors regularly dictated an individual’s placement in the pews. As a result, although the singing that resounded throughout a church might have melded into a cohesive wash of sound, individual parishioners often produced this sound sitting next to those of their own gender or social station.²¹ In this way, group singing could do as much to divide and differentiate an urban population as to unite it; and crucially, following Rublack’s lead, expressions of cohesion and difference through corporate song were linked, going hand in hand as closely and complexly intertwined phenomena, as each made the other more meaningful in a way that surpassed the simple binary of social ‘harmony’ and ‘discord’.²²

Drawing on a rich and previously unexploited corpus of sources from the Palatine city of Heidelberg, this article re-examines the question of music’s ability to forge social bonds in the century following the start of the Reformation. I argue that music, corporate singing in particular, frequently and effectively subdivided urban society by reinforcing the identities of individual social groups within a given locale, rather than primarily bridging social difference and producing unified urban confessional cultures as a result. As Protestants began the process of identity formation, communal singing of both secular and sacred repertoires

²¹ On pew placement and religious ritual in sixteenth-century Protestant churches, see Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London, 1997), 194–7. For pew allocation in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Leipzig, see Tanya Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety: Religion, Society, and Music in Leipzig, 1650–1750* (Aldershot, 2007), esp. Ch. 2.

²² Two recent studies which reference this framework are Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, esp. 235; and Melinda Latour, ‘Disciplining Song in Sixteenth-Century Geneva’, *Journal of Musicology*, xxxii (2015), esp. 38.

helped urban residents to foster bespoke networks of social contacts that criss-crossed the city and turned on several social and religious axes. In a range of spatial and social contexts—in a parish church beside fellow parishioners, in streets and taverns with friends and acquaintances, in the family home—collective song became a potent and malleable platform for nurturing and expressing a range of meaningful social differences, even as music built new types of bonds (some intended and some unintended) following the Reformation.

In addition to being Tremellius's home for sixteen years (1561–77), Heidelberg is a city whose archives permit a clear window onto both urban musical culture and the city's unusually complex social fabric: spanning from day labourers, fisherman and religious exiles, to lawyers, merchants and university students, in addition to the Elector Palatine and his court. But while Heidelberg may have been unusual in Reformation Germany for its social range, the following three sections of this article explore three genres of corporate singing—and three types of urban space—found in nearly every city and town across Protestant Europe: congregational song in the parish church, secular song in city streets, inns and taverns, and domestic devotional singing in the home. In all three of these spaces—social spaces which Robert Scribner identified as crucial to the spread of ideas in the Reformation²³—Heidelbergers used music as a means of distinguishing themselves and standing out from the urban social fabric, not of blending in to it, as corporate singing became a dividing force which demarcated and consolidated urban subgroups.

II.

Congregational Song in a Divided City

Protestantism arrived late to Heidelberg. Whereas Stuttgart and other cities in southwest Germany introduced Protestant church orders during the 1530s, Elector Friedrich II instituted

²³ Robert Scribner, 'Oral Culture and the Diffusion of Reformation Ideas', *History of European Ideas*, v (1984).

in 1546 what Philip Benedict has characterised as ‘half-hearted, thoroughly Melancthonian’ Lutheran reforms that, in the years preceding the Peace of Augsburg (1555), were radical enough to satisfy local enthusiasm for Protestantism and maintain trade relations with newly evangelical territories, yet not so drastic as to jeopardise the Elector’s position as one of the four lay members of the imperial College of Electors.²⁴ This is not to say that Protestant thought and practice was unknown to the roughly 6,200 inhabitants of Heidelberg before 1546. Luther, for instance, had presented his theology of the cross at Heidelberg’s Augustinian monastery in 1518, an event attended by a young Johannes Brenz, preacher and reformer in Württemberg from the 1520s onwards, as well as Martin Bucer, later reformer in Strasbourg and Regius Professor of Divinity in Cambridge.²⁵

By the mid-1550s however, the tables had turned. In the 63 years between Friedrich II’s death in 1556 and Friedrich V’s fateful acceptance of the Crown of Bohemia in 1619, Heidelberg had not only severed all ties with Rome but oscillated four times between two opposing strands of Protestantism. Elector Ottheinrich, between 1556 and his death in 1559, introduced the most stringent Lutheran reforms to date, modelled on Brenz’s church order drafted in 1553 for nearby Württemberg.²⁶ However, Ottheinrich’s reforms gave way after his death to the first Calvinist reformation in the Holy Roman Empire, introduced in 1563 by his successor, Friedrich III, and punctuated by the publication of the Heidelberg Catechism.²⁷ However, Calvinism did not survive Friedrich III’s death in 1576, despite successfully converting the Palatinate into a training ground for Calvinist ministers and a safe haven for Calvinist refugees from all corners of Europe.²⁸ In 1576, Ludwig VI, an ardent Lutheran and

²⁴ Philip Benedict, *Christ’s Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven, 2002), 211.

²⁵ On Bucer in Heidelberg, see Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and His Times*, trans. Stephen Buckwalter (Louisville, 2004), 21–31.

²⁶ *Die evangelische Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, xiv, *Kurpfalz*, ed. Emil Sehling (Tübingen, 1969), 23.

²⁷ For the Heidelberg Catechism, see Karla Apperloo-Boersma und Herman J. Selderhuis (eds.), *Macht des Glaubens: 450 Jahre Heidelberger Katechismus* (Göttingen, 2013); and Lyle Bierma *et al.* (eds.), *An Introduction to the Heidelberg Catechism: Sources, History and Theology* (Grand Rapids, 2005).

²⁸ Claus-Peter Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1555–1618* (Oxford, 1966), 33–42.

Friedrich III's successor, re-introduced Ottheinrich's Lutheran reforms and gave Calvinists a mere three weeks to convert or leave the territory.²⁹ Ludwig's Lutheran restoration was similarly short lived, however, lasting only seven years until his death in 1583. Thereafter, Heidelberg once more became a Calvinist city, first under Administrator Johann Casimir until 1592 and then Electors Friedrich IV and Friedrich V.

Sources documenting the day-to-day routines of Heidelberg's four parish churches—the Heiliggeistkirche, the Barfüßerkirche, the Peterskirche and the Spitalkirche—are largely lacking, as a result of the destruction of the city by foreign forces in 1622 and again in 1693. Nevertheless, extant visitation records suggest that, between 1556 and 1619, Heidelberg's four parishes adhered relatively closely to whichever confession was officially (re)introduced, despite a sometimes reluctant or indifferent attitude on a popular level.³⁰ And unlike bi-confessional locales like Brandenburg, the Palatinate never officially adopted a comparable measure of religious toleration, as authorities closely and suspiciously monitored the activities of confessional dissidents.³¹

Given the repeated oscillation between Lutheranism and Calvinism, music in Heidelberg's churches naturally experienced a degree of discontinuity across the sixteenth century. The Lutheran church orders of 1556–1563 and 1576–1583 specified relatively standard Lutheran musical practices for a southwest German city. Congregations with sufficiently educated members integrated music with Latin texts, typically sung by schoolboys. Within the body of the liturgy, congregants and pupils together sang German hymns and psalms, possibly in cantional style and alternating verses in the so-called *alternatim* style and, where available, accompanied by an organ. In churches with insufficient

²⁹ Dieter Raff, 'Die Pfalz als Refugium', *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, xxx (1986), 113.

³⁰ Gustav Adolph Benrath, 'Das kirchliche Leben Heidelbergs in den Jahren 1593 bis 1595', *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, x (1966).

³¹ Karl Hartfelder, 'Kirchenvisitation der Stadt Heidelberg 1582', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, xxxiv (1882). On Brandenburg, see Bodo Nischan, *People, Prince, Confession: The Second Reformation in Brandenburg* (Philadelphia, 1994).

numbers of parishioners who understood Latin, congregations sang only vernacular hymn and psalm repertoires in the liturgy, with school pupils singing where available.³² Meanwhile, Palatine Calvinists—whose orders were instituted 1563–1576 and 1583–1622—like their Genevan counterparts, abolished Latin-texted music in public worship, and permitted only vernacular psalms sung, in most cases, without organ accompaniment.³³ The soundscapes of Lutheran and Calvinist worship therefore diverged along a fault line that saw Calvinists silencing organs and introducing vernacular repertoires that aligned Heidelberg with Genevan practice. Although it took nearly a decade from the first institution of Calvinist reforms in 1563, Calvinist church leaders introduced the Genevan psalm repertory in Heidelberg, first in the German setting by Paul Melissus in 1572 and, two years later, in that of Ambrosius Lobwasser.³⁴ Lutherans, for their part, largely dismissed Genevan repertoires between 1576 and 1583, preferring instead hymns penned by Lutheran authors which circulated in central Germany and other areas under the reforming influence of Melancthon.³⁵

Despite these differences, congregational song in both Lutheran and Calvinist Heidelberg was a powerful tool for challenging medieval hierarchies that gave clergy a privileged place over the laity as spiritual intermediaries. Like models of corporate song from before the Reformation³⁶ and elsewhere in Protestant Europe, congregational singing in

³² For an overview of music in Lutheran worship, see Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, 3–123; also Patrice Veit, *Das Kirchenlied in der Reformation Martin Luthers: Eine thematische und semantische Untersuchung* (Stuttgart, 1986). For more recent work, see Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*; and Herl, *Worship Wars*.

³³ Friedrich III ordered the silencing of all organs in Heidelberg, yet irenic literature written by Heidelberg theologians reveal that some German Calvinist churches nevertheless kept and continued to use organs in worship. Eike Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1998), 45; and Bartholomaeus Pitiscus, *Ausfülicher Bericht, was die Reformierte Kirchen in Teutschland Gleuben oder nicht Gleuben* (Heidelberg, 1607), 457.

³⁴ Matthew Laube, 'Hymnis Germanicis Davidis, Lutheri et aliorum piorum virorum: Hymnbooks and Confessionalisation in Heidelberg, 1546–1620', in Gabriele Haug-Moritz, Michael Fischer and Norbert Haag (eds.), *Musik in neuzeitlichen Konfessionskulturen (16.-19. Jahrhundert): Räume – Medien – Funktionen* (Ostfildern, 2013).

³⁵ *Ibid.*; and Hermann Poppen, *Das erste Kurpfälzer Gesangbuch und seine Singweisen* (Lahr in Baden, 1938).

³⁶ No extant evidence details corporate religious singing in pre-Reformation Heidelberg, but like elsewhere in late medieval Europe city residents likely sang German carols and *Leisen* on liturgical holidays and participated in Latin-texted song cultures of sequences and processions. See Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge, 1993), 327–33; Johannes Riedel (ed.), *Leise Settings of the Renaissance and Reformation Era* (Madison, WI, 1980), vii–xxii.

Protestant Heidelberg invited believers to active participation and helped religious texts to appeal deeply to the affect and the intellect³⁷ for ‘the edification of the entire congregation’, as the preface to one Heidelberg hymnbook put it.³⁸ Corporate liturgical song of ‘the entire congregation’ integrated the voices of pastors and the laity—including women and men, children and adults—as a sonic reflection of the equality between pastors and congregants, as well as amongst the laity itself, in the sight of God. That this blending of all voices was indeed perceived by many as a radical shift should not be overlooked. As Elsie Anne McKee has noted, Catholic response to Protestant congregational song like Heidelberg’s included the strong denunciation of women singing in public, especially in the presence of men.³⁹

Hymn texts expounded on this new equality and unity. Sung during Heidelberg’s Calvinist and Lutheran periods, Luther’s *Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein* (‘Now rejoice, dear Christians all’), for instance, saw Heidelberg’s pastors and congregations proclaiming ‘that we, confident and united, sing with pleasure and love’. Heidelberg’s Calvinist court preacher Bartholomaeus Pitiscus (1561–1613) argued that singing together in a language understood by all enabled Christians of every social stripe—from ‘a poor simple layman or laywoman’ to pastors and social elites—to be comforted and reformed’ from lingering heretical belief and practice.⁴⁰ Moreover, the task of composing hymns for the church in Heidelberg, like elsewhere in Reformation Germany, was taken up as much by laymen like physicians Johann Pincier (1556–1624) and Johannes Posthius (1537–97) as pastor-poets like Luther.⁴¹ In all these ways, bridging the chasm between clergy and laity—

³⁷ Veit, *Das Kirchenlied*, 28.

³⁸ *Psalmen Davids, nach Frantzösischer Melodey* (Heidelberg, 1612), unpaginated preface.

³⁹ Katharina Schütz Zell, *Church Mother: The Writings of a Protestant Reformer in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, ed. and trans. Elsie Anne McKee (Chicago, 2006), 86 footnote 47.

⁴⁰ Pitiscus, *Ausführlicher Bericht*, 455.

⁴¹ Pincier’s hymn ‘Was Gotts Wort uns thut verkündten’ appeared in *Etliche Psalmen vnd Geistliche Lieder* (Neustadt, 1619) alongside hymns composed by Heidelberg’s Electors Friedrich III, Johann Casimir and Friedrich IV. Posthius authored a versified musical lectionary of Gospel texts, published as *Die Sontags Evangelia gesangsweise* (Amberg, 1608).

the former brokering the salvation of the latter—was a phenomenon that was meant to be heard and vocalised as much as believed by faith.

The novelty of congregational song in liturgy, with its accompanying sounds and clear theological subtexts, is well acknowledged, but its power to alter social bonds should not be overestimated. For at the same time, any sense of equality that congregational singing may have generated in Heidelberg's churches extended only weakly from one parish to the next. Each of Heidelberg's four parish churches—despite falling under the same local ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority—possessed a fundamentally unique musical profile that remained intact across the sixteenth century. Even as the same sacred repertoires were instituted and performed throughout the city, the four churches accessed and supported music differently, in ways that reflected the social make-up of a church's congregants, the size and physical attributes of a church building, and the status of a parish within local institutional networks.

First of all, each church differed greatly in the number of parishioners it served (see Ill. 1).⁴² Heidelberg's largest and most central church was the Heiliggeistkirche. Located on the market square, with parish boundaries running from the inner city wall to the Rathaus, it encompassed roughly 550 households holding approximately 3,300 inhabitants. The parish of the Barfüßerkirche—roughly half the size of the Heiliggeistkirche parish, with the church housed in the dissolved Franciscan monastery—comprised about 1,300 inhabitants in 270 households lying in the area east of the Rathaus to the outer city wall. Smaller yet was the parish of Peterskirche, home to approximately 870 individuals in 160 households in the so-called *Speirer Vorstadt*, outside the inner city wall. Smallest in size and located furthest geographically from the market square in the western-most corner of the *Speirer Vorstadt*,

⁴² Parish records are scarce but the social make-up of each parish can be obtained from extant habitation records (*Einwohnerverzeichnisse*). See A. Mays and K. Christ (eds.), 'Einwohnerverzeichnis der Stadt Heidelberg vom Jahr 1588', *Neues Archiv für die Geschichte der Stadt Heidelberg und der rheinischen Pfalz*, i (1890).

was the Spitalkirche, located within the dissolved Dominican friary and serving nearly 600 individuals in roughly 85 households.

Just as the churches differed in their number of parishioners, each church also differed in the type of Heidelberg it served. The residency of Heidelberg, first of all, consisted of three distinct legal categories. Residents fell under the legal jurisdiction of either the electorally appointed mayor (*Schultheiss*), the court marshal, or the university rector. Although each jurisdiction had its own legal court and internal social order, they were far from equal, falling into a clear hierarchy regarding legal freedoms. For instance, the approximately 500 students and professors under the legal purview of the university rector were exempt from the regular visitations by church authorities and were tried by university judges rather than civic or electoral courts. Similarly, roughly one-quarter of Heidelberg's total population was employed by the court. Ranging from noblemen to domestic servants, these court employees enjoyed a special social standing that resulted from an association with the most powerful office in the territory. Moreover, although the mayor governed civic affairs, the Elector Palatine, like his Saxon counterpart in Luther's Wittenberg, weighed in heavily on civic matters and could override decisions taken by civic courts.

No parish church was an homogeneous or static social entity.⁴³ Yet internal jurisdictional division produced a local social hierarchy in which individuals belonging to the court and university tended to live and worship in the city's most central parish churches. Over 50 per cent of court employees lived in the parish of the Barfüßerkirche, accounting for 46 per cent of the parish's total households. Similarly, the tone of church life at the Heiliggeistkirche was set by both the university and court. Professors and several hundred university students—living in private lodging as well as Heidelberg's three colleges—were

⁴³ Marco Neumeier, 'The Epitome of a Residenzstadt: Heidelberg at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century', in Sara Smart and Mara R. Wade (eds.), *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival* (Wiesbaden, 2013), 449. For the social topography of Heidelberg, see the digital resource *Heidelberg in der Frühen Neuzeit (1508–1803)*: <http://www.heidelberg-fruehe-neuzeit.uni-hd.de> (accessed 1 December 2018).

expected to attend services in the Heiliggeistkirche. The court exercised its influence over the Heiliggeistkirche via a rood screen that remained in place throughout the sixteenth century and separated the congregation from the electoral burial chapel in the choir. Significantly, theology students from the Calvinist Collegium Sapientiae were separated physically from the rest of the congregation as they worshiped behind the rood screen with their professors.⁴⁴ Thereby, something akin to the Heiliggeistkirche's medieval practice of separating clergy from laity and seating them in a privileged area survived the Reformation, and persisted through both Lutheran and Calvinist periods.

In contrast to these two centrally located churches, congregations in the *Vorstadt* consisted primarily of Heidelbergers under the jurisdiction of the mayor. Three-quarters of the households in the Peterskirche parish fell under civic jurisdiction. Meanwhile, parishioners of the Spitalkirche consisted exclusively of Heidelbergers under authority of the city, the majority of which were of lower social orders: wine growers, fishermen, the sick poor, as well as the town executioner.⁴⁵ Division and diversity, in short, were woven into the fabric of this small yet politically and confessionally significant city to the extent that, if someone had walked into each of Heidelberg's four churches, four different types of congregation would have been seen, each church being unique in its social make-up and proportion of, and special liberties granted to, parishioners under court, university or city jurisdiction.

Predictably, church music also differed from one parish to the next—making audible the social profile of each church, and reinforcing rather than dissolving these sharp social divisions. This occurred in a number of ways. Each church naturally had a different proportion of men and women, adults and children, musically trained and untrained, which together resulted in each congregation's singing having its own sonic character. Likewise,

⁴⁴ Eike Wolgast, 'Das Collegium Sapientiae in Heidelberg im 16. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, cxlvii (1999), 313.

⁴⁵ Mays and Christ, 'Einwohnerverzeichnis', 263.

each church's unique size and architectural design meant that no two churches had the same acoustic profile.⁴⁶ On the two ends of the spectrum, the large and electorally patronised Heiliggeistkirche would have boasted a noticeably more resonant and grander acoustic than the smaller, socially peripheral and more acoustically confined Spitalkirche.⁴⁷

One of the most active musical forces in shaping difference between the parishes was the presence of schoolboys. Just as schoolchildren in countless other Protestant areas had done from the 1520s onwards, pupils from Heidelberg's schools during both Lutheran and Calvinist periods supplemented and strengthened lay congregational singing in the vernacular.⁴⁸ The Heiliggeistkirche continued its medieval practice of drawing pupils from the Neckarschule, the Latin school located within the parish, founded in the twelfth century by city magistrates for the education of poor pupils and *Bürgerkinder*.⁴⁹ The Barfüßerkirche similarly engaged pupils from the Pädagogium, the university's preparatory school, which was located within the same dissolved Franciscan friary complex as the parish church.⁵⁰

Pupils at these two schools received daily instruction in music, not only as part of their general humanist education but also as a means of aiding their task of singing for public services.⁵¹ What is more, to raise the level of performance, it was under Calvinist rule that the Pädagogium introduced mandatory auditions for incoming pupils, in what appears to be one of the earliest instances of any school in the Empire to introduce such a measure, predating

⁴⁶ Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Music, Acoustics* (New Haven, 2010).

⁴⁷ It is impossible to know precisely the size and acoustic qualities of each church, as the Spitalkirche and Barfüßerkirche no longer stand.

⁴⁸ The foundational text on the musical activities of schoolboys remains Klaus Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege und Musikunterricht an den deutschen Lateinschulen vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis um 1600* (Regensburg, 1969). For Geneva, see Daniel Trocmé-Latter, 'The Psalms as a Mark of Protestantism: The Introduction of Liturgical Psalm-Singing in Geneva', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, xx (2011).

⁴⁹ Johann Friedrich Hantz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule: von ihrem Ursprunge im 12. Jahrhunderte bis zu ihrer Aufhebung im Anfange des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1849).

⁵⁰ Johann Friedrich Hantz, *Die erste Gelehrtschule Reformirten Glaubensbekenntnisses in Deutschland, oder, Geschichte des Pädagogiums zu Heidelberg unter dem Kurfürsten Friedrich III. von der Pfalz in den Jahren 1565–1577* (Heidelberg, 1855).

⁵¹ Johann Friedrich Hantz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis origines et progressus* (Heidelberg, 1846), 61 and 63.

the musically renowned Thomasschule in Leipzig by over three decades.⁵² Thus, the Heiliggeistkirche and Barfüßerkirche—churches located within the inner city walls and attended primarily by court employees, university members and wealthy Heidelbergers under civic jurisdiction—enjoyed the regular singing of the city’s best-trained pupils who spent their school days studying a stone’s throw away from the churches in which they sang.

By contrast, the two parishes in the *Speirer Vorstadt* suffered more inconsistent and meagre musical provisions, as neither the Peterskirche nor the Spitalkirche was attached to a Latin school which could provide high-level musical instruction and supply such pupils directly.⁵³ Therefore, the task of singing in these churches fell to pupils from the Neckarschule and the Pädagogium, who possibly sang alongside other girls and boys resident in the outer-lying parishes. According to Neckarschule statutes, pupils were rendering an important duty and were to ‘engage themselves dutifully’ when assigned to strengthen congregational singing in Heidelberg’s ‘other churches’.⁵⁴

In one sense, dispersing pupils to smaller congregations signals an attempt by Heidelberg’s church authorities to standardise religious practice and to spread resources evenly throughout the city. Such efforts were not uncommon in Reformation Germany. To compare again with Leipzig, pupils of the Thomasschule sang in multiple churches on a weekly basis.⁵⁵ And like their Leipzig counterparts, pupils at the Neckarschule sang for the funeral services of city residents as a means of generating revenue for the school and—in the case of Heidelberg’s Neckarschule—minimising the school’s reliance on electoral patronage.⁵⁶ Pupils were also instructed to circulate to all quarters of the city when singing

⁵² Ibid., 126. For Leipzig, see Hans-Joachim Schulze (ed.), *Die Thomasschule Leipzig zur Zeit Johann Sebastian Bachs: Ordnung und Gesetze, 1634, 1723, 1733* (Leipzig, 1987).

⁵³ The number of schools operating in Heidelberg is unknown. In the 1588 *Einwohnerverzeichnis*, there is mention only of the Peterschule, a German school about which little is known. After a visitation to schools in 1593–4, Friedrich IV’s vision for the city was that there would be at least two German schools in each parish, one for boys and one for girls. Benrath, ‘Das kirchliche Leben Heidelbergs’, 60.

⁵⁴ Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*, 62.

⁵⁵ *Des Rats zu Leipzig Vernewerte Schul-Ordnung* (Leipzig, 1634), sig. C4r.

⁵⁶ Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*, 61–2.

door to door while collecting alms, a practice which took pupils into the *Vorstadt* on days other than Sunday.

Yet venturing outside the inner city wall, away from the close supervision of schoolmasters, tempted some boys to shirk their duties. So strong was the temptation that pupils were warned, ‘on pains of certain punishment, not to play truant’ when singing in the other churches.⁵⁷ The unevenness with which schoolboys circulated throughout the city to render their musical duties resulted partly from the basic economic reality that the city’s existing structures could not support an elite school in each parish. For a comparatively small city like Heidelberg, the resources required to establish and maintain additional schools like the Neckarschule and Pädagogium would have been considerable. The uneven distribution of pupils across parish lines also resulted from youthful misbehaviour. Admonitions against truancy very likely indicate that this was an existing problem, illustrating how the allure and pleasures of youthful misbehaviour could sharply undercut ecclesiastical policies aimed at investing resources in smaller, geographically peripheral parishes.

Unfortunately, there is no extant documentary evidence detailing the frequency with which pupils played truant or the measures taken to ensure that pupils attended the services to which they were assigned. While my conclusions must therefore remain provisional, the musical inconsistencies that existed from one parish to the next, as suggested by the schools’ statutes, nevertheless sent a powerful message to each congregation which undermined the notion that church music should bridge social difference across the city. It could hardly have escaped the notice of parishioners of the Spitalkirche (and was possibly a topic of conversation) that their church—under no electoral patronage, lying geographically at the edge of the city, and attended exclusively by Heidelbergers under civic jurisdiction, many from lower social orders—lacked the musical resources found with regularity in the centrally

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 62.

located churches which featured strongly into electoral and university agendas. Conversely, for congregations of the Heiliggeistkirche and Barfüßerkirche—consisting primarily of individuals under court and university jurisdiction, as well as wealthy Heidelbergers subject to the mayor—the reliable presence of the best-trained schoolboys in Heidelberg doubtless reinforced a strong sense of social exclusivity, even superiority, produced by their shared social and legal status that came at the expense of other congregations.

Viewing the local urban system of this Protestant city through the lens of congregational song thus paints the picture of a Reformation that made certain claims about, and arguably indeed generated new types of, equality among people in the sight of God. Yet at the same time, this Reformation did little to challenge continuing institutional and social stratification in the sight of one another, as resources were offered first to those wielding power, while the remainder was dispersed to the less powerful. Church music, in these ways, was not acting as a bridge. Instead, it resembled both a mirror and a chisel, reflecting and shaping a church's rank within Heidelberg's hierarchised institutional networks, as well as the relative importance of parishioners within the urban social system.

III.

Studenthood and Secular Song

To this point, sacred singing in the church has been described as a sculpting force which mirrored division and consolidated urban sub-groups along legal, jurisdictional, social and economic lines. To Heidelbergers—especially those wielding power—the Reformation offered the opportunity to re-establish existing hierarchies and reinforce social difference between members of the city, university, and princely court, as much as to dissolve them. Sacred singing thus helps to illustrate the manner and forms in which different urban communities experienced and enacted Protestant reforms differently, as collective song

became a platform for expressing not just new types of equality and bond, but also important social differences.

However, institutional settings such as parish churches were not the only sites where social connections were created via corporate singing, nor was congregational song the only genre of corporate singing after the Reformation. Nor were the visible—and audible—social divisions between urban communities in Heidelberg’s churches unrelated to non-religious conflict experienced in daily urban life outside the church. In the following sections, I therefore turn to analyse the sonic world surrounding one such community—university students—to show how group singing operated beyond the walls of churches.

As Robert Scribner observed, religious reform and experience inside Reformation churches were strongly shaped by non-religious social conflicts, many of which had their origins firmly in the Middle Ages.⁵⁸ Indeed, from the perspective of Heidelberg’s cityfolk, the Reformation arguably reenergized rather than resolved the city’s most prominent and longstanding social division—that of ‘town’ and ‘gown’—both inside and outside the church. Not only were Heidelberg’s theology students—future pastors and administrators of church discipline—physically differentiated from the laity in services at the Heiliggeistkirche, separated by the rood screen. But outside the church, students made new vocal repertoires and musical formats appearing after the Reformation foremost a platform for expressing difference and standing out from the urban fabric.

Like other urban sub-groups, Heidelberg students sang to self-fashion their collective identity, to communicate with one another, and to nurture their own friendship and kinship networks. Yet, as the next two sections illustrate, student bonding and communication through song—even as it created strong social bonds between students—resulted in anything but a hermetically sealed social bubble unaware of, or unconcerned with, the presence of

⁵⁸ Scribner, ‘Civic Unity and the Reformation’.

other, sometimes competing social groups. For song enabled students also to foster networks of loose social connections across different urban communities, as song and singing brought students and a variety of cityfolk into close social and physical contact, in a way not seen with corporate singing in Heidelberg's churches. And these loose social connections and 'weak ties', not just strong ones, became tantamount to a *sine qua non* of the identity of studenthood itself.

In November 1577, six university students sat in the dining hall of the Contubernium, a college dedicated to housing roughly two dozen poor students.⁵⁹ After the other students had been dismissed, these six were questioned by college officials about a recent incident of excessive drinking and rowdiness in college rooms which involved non-residents of the college. The students refuted the accusations, responding that they had shown moderation in their gathering and 'had neither been drinking together, nor raised shouts and cries nor echoed the leader [as a musical game], but they had been practising music, saying they were ten in number and had [only] four measures of wine'.⁶⁰

What exactly happened is unknown. But for university visitors to the Contubernium, investigating incidents involving student drunkenness, rowdy behaviour and music-making was commonplace. Of the six twice-yearly visitations conducted between 1576 and 1578, four mentioned raucous music-making by student groups. Indeed, Lambertus Helm (1535–1596), Professor of Poetics and the officiant of a visitation conducted in December 1576, found the most common infraction to be that 'some inappropriately demand wine, so that it happens that noise and shouting are heard even in some of the bedrooms. It then also happens that some go outside of this common dwelling with musical instruments until deep in the

⁵⁹ Mays and Christ, 'Einwohnerverzeichnis', 149.

⁶⁰ Gerhard Merkel (ed.), *Protocollum Contubernii: Visitation und Rechnungsprüfung von 1568 bis 1615* (Heidelberg, 2001), 63.

night, even in this time of mourning [after the death of Friedrich III]'.⁶¹ It was also added that, 'some are in the habit of wandering with musical instruments in the streets and even take the servants with them, and very often they even sleep outside'.⁶² Although the students were reprimanded by the rector, Helm requested on his subsequent visit, in July 1577, that the rector remind students that 'it is allowed to practise music, without drinking, after dinner, but without being noisy'.⁶³

The high frequency with which college visitors lamented students' inclusion of music in their rowdy and drunken activity makes it possible—very likely, in fact—that the countless incidents of misbehaviour by student groups during the sixteenth century also included music-making of some form. Music may have accompanied students indecently bathing in the Neckar and running naked along the river banks, ordinances against which were released in 1551 and again in 1558, a problem similar to that experienced in Cambridge.⁶⁴ As in Wittenberg, Heidelberg students crashed wedding celebrations in order to drink, feast and dance to the music of fiddles.⁶⁵ Student groups were mandated by the Electoral court not to attack the night watchmen, fire gunshots aimlessly, or direct bawdy poetry at 'honourable' young women (*ehrbare Mädchen*). Student misbehaviour was also contagious. Music may have been sounding in 1600, when student rowdiness involved the fifty-year-old Professor of Hebrew, Herman Rennecherus, who chopped down the door of the Contubernium with an axe while drunkenly carousing with students. He then mocked the citation from the university senate, an act for which he was dismissed from his post and banished for ten years.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Ibid., 54.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid., 59.

⁶⁴ George Dyer, *Privileges of the University of Cambridge*, 2 vols. (London, 1824), i, 303–5.

⁶⁵ Simon Stenius, *Calvinismus Heidelbergensis* (Heidelberg, 1593), 5; for an account of students crashing weddings in Wittenberg, see Fynes Moryson, *Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary*, ed. Charles Hughes (London, 1903), 316.

⁶⁶ Eduard Winkelmann (ed.), *Urkundenbuch der Universität Heidelberg*, 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1886), ii, 156–7, 135, 162 and 174.

Friendship between students was noisy. Like the ‘rough music’ of male-dominated charivaris in early modern England, the sound of student bonding ranged from bodily sounds such as singing and crowing (*Jauchzen*) to the artificial and mechanical sounds of gunshots, sword fighting, and the strumming and plucking of musical instruments.⁶⁷ Fynes Moryson noted that ‘nothingse was more frequent at Witte[n]berg, then for Students to goe by night to Harlotts, and being druncke, to walke in the streets with naked swordes, slashing them against the stones, and making noyse with Clamours’.⁶⁸ Tübingen student Johann Michael Winckhelmann kept an *album amicorum* which illustrates how musical sound went hand in hand with violence (see Ill. 2).⁶⁹ Not only are the student musicians themselves carrying swords while they provide musical accompaniment to student sword fighting, but the variety of different stringed instruments—including two small lutes, a fiddle, bowed bass and possibly a singer—suggests informed amateur musicians who owned or could access specialist and sometimes expensive instruments.

Friendship was also physical and bodily. Rowdiness often constituted some form of disobedience in the shape of brawling, shoving, or pushing the body to its limits through excessive drinking or gorging. Rowdiness was a perennial problem in Heidelberg, and persisted into the early modern period as a male rite of passage and platform for peer bonding. For Lutherans and Calvinists alike, obedience was to characterise the male relationship between father and son. As Heide Wunder has written, submission by boys to their fathers was ‘essential in order to be able later to command obedience as lord of the manor, aristocratic administrator, and husband’.⁷⁰ However, this paradigm could lead to

⁶⁷ Martin Ingram, ‘Ridings, Rough Music and the “Reform of Popular Culture” in Early Modern England’, *Past & Present*, cv (1984); and Norbert Schindler, *Rebellion, Community and Custom in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 2002), 131–140.

⁶⁸ Moryson, *Shakespeare’s Europe*, 315–6.

⁶⁹ Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Cod. Hist. 8 218.

⁷⁰ Heide Wunder, ‘Construction of Masculinity and Male Identity in Personal Testimonies: Hans von Schweinichen (1552–1616) in His *Memorial*’, in Anne Jacobson Schutte, Thomas Kuehn and Silvana Seidel Menchi (eds.), *Time, Space and Women’s Lives in Early Modern Europe* (Kirksville, Mo., 2001), 320.

rebellion as much as submission, and rituals of male peer-bonding among youth—underpinned by peer pressure, dares and mutual influence—enabled the creation of a powerful self-identity that separated them from women and undermined the picture of manhood propagated by religious authorities.⁷¹

Matching the physicality of student bonding was the response of townsfolk. In two separate cases in 1571, townsfolk were found guilty of murdering students.⁷² A student uprising ensued in 1586 when civic authorities transgressed normal jurisdictional protocol by apprehending a student and imprisoning him in the city jail rather than that of the university.⁷³ In 1590 city barbers and doctors withheld treatment to students who became injured while brawling and breaking curfew, and agreed to tend the wounds only after students made their condition known to their jurisdictional superiors.⁷⁴

But while parents and church officials showed concern for juvenile misdeeds, and even as townsfolk bemoaned students' rowdiness, others sought to capitalise on it. Tavern owners habitually lent money to students who then spent the loans on drinking, a practice which was banned on Electoral decree in 1589.⁷⁵ Music printers and sellers—who, compared to medieval Heidelberg, were new to the early modern student experience following the advent of print—likewise viewed youth as a fertile market. Whereas illiterate or semi-literate city dwellers often performed songs circulating orally, many students could access printed texts and musical notation with relative ease. Students purchased books of multi-voiced drinking songs and dance music, as the publications of Leipzig student and later

⁷¹ For a discussion of all-male bonding within the context of journeymen see Mary E. Wiesner, *Gender, Church and State in Early Modern Germany* (London, 1998), 178–196.

⁷² Winkelmann (ed.), *Urkundenbuch*, ii, 135.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁷⁵ Winkelmann (ed.), *Urkundenbuch*, 161.

Thomaskantor Johann Hermann Schein suggest.⁷⁶ Students were also a primary market for cheap print, including insult songs (*Spottlieder*) and drinking songs (*Trinklieder*).⁷⁷

Publishers, to be sure, targeted student groups as potential customers. One strategy adopted by Heidelberg printer and publisher Gotthard Vögelin involved linking music to the imagery of night time. His first publication of lute music, *Nights of Music (Noctes Musicae)*,⁷⁸ appeared in the year that Vögelin maintained a printing presence in two university cities, relocating his print shop from Leipzig to Heidelberg in 1598 and catering to two local markets of students (see Ill. 3).⁷⁹

Connotations of night time conjured by the title page were far from straightforward, however. On the one hand, the night was a time that could be devoted to pious or recreational music-making that undergirded one's sociability or private religious life. For girls in the Heidelberg court, singing and playing psalms on the keyboard occurred in the evening.⁸⁰ Household music-making in the city also took place after dark. The *album amicorum* of Winckelmann, referenced earlier, contains an image depicting men and women convivially making music on keyboard and string instruments to candlelight (see Ill. 4).⁸¹ On the other hand, Craig Koslofsky has taught us that the night was also characterised by illicit behaviour that could only take place under the cover of darkness—a fact especially true for students whose social status and youthful inclination towards rowdiness 'gave them an especially uninhibited relationship to the night'.⁸²

⁷⁶ See Johann Hermann Schein, *Venus Kreutzlein* (Leipzig, 1609) and Schein, *Studentenschmauss* (Leipzig, 1622).

⁷⁷ Pupils' habit of procuring profane literature led authorities of the Neckarschule to forbid 'all types of wanton Latin and German books, pictures and songs', and pupils were forbidden from exchanging books and printed material with one another without prior knowledge by school officials. Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*, 63.

⁷⁸ Matthias Reymann (ed.), *Noctes musicae* (n.p., 1598).

⁷⁹ On Vögelin see Hans-Dieter Dyroff, 'Gotthard Vögelin: Verleger, Drucker, Buchhandler 1597–1631', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, iv (1963).

⁸⁰ Friedrich Schmidt (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, vol. XIX, *Geschichte der Erziehung der pfälzischen Wittelsbacher* (Berlin, 1899), 289.

⁸¹ Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Cod. Hist. 8 218.

⁸² Craig Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2011), 166.

Vögelin's *Noctes musicae* invites two such contradictory readings. A civilising performance context during the night, like that sanctioned by university authorities, is seen when the allegorical image—coupled with the proverb 'Not by force but by lyres' (*Non vi sed chely*)—is interpreted as King David calming the raging Saul by the sound of his harp. Equally, the image can be read as David taming a lion, a reversal of the biblical picture of David the shepherd, who according to 1 Samuel 'struck [the lion] and killed him' when it took one of his sheep.⁸³ The figure in the image can also be interpreted as someone akin to Timotheus who calmed Alexander through the emotional power of his music. Viewed within the context of the night time, these allegorical representations had clear implications for consumers of Vögelin's publication. Just as David tamed Saul and Timotheus calmed Alexander through music, the reader too could tame wild impulses in himself, perhaps especially by playing those pieces based on Lutheran chorales like 'Erhalt uns Herr', which could combat unbelief and sin through the pious and doctrinal associations of the melodies.

Equally, however, to a rowdy-minded student browsing in Vögelin's shop or thumbing through a copy owned by a friend, the title *Noctes musicae* evoked visions of music-making of a different sort. Visions of night-time drinking on city streets while carousing with friends or searching for female companionship could be conjured if the buyer exchanged the image of David for that of Orpheus.⁸⁴ As Orpheus was known for taming the beasts with music, the caption on the title page—'Not by force but by lyres'—speaks less of taming the spirit within and more about melting the hearts of women through night time serenading. Lascivious-minded readers could very easily have used the volume's numerous dance movements (12 passamezzos, 5 pavans and 10 galliards), tucked away at the end of the publication, as a means of bringing themselves in close physical proximity to, and synchronised movement with, young women in taverns, weddings or a variety of other social

⁸³ 1 Samuel 17:35.

⁸⁴ John Block Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages* (Syracuse, 2000), esp. 146–212.

settings. Such concerns were never far from many students' minds. Even against the threat of punishment, pursuing women with music was as much a part of university life and student bonding as studying. The *album amicorum* of Marburg student Rembert von Kersenbruch, dated 1578, included an image of a student holding a lute while standing next to a young woman, with the caption: 'To study by day, to make love by night: for these things students have great respect' (see Ill. 5).⁸⁵

German-texted bawdy song, not just lute music, also posed an immediate threat to disturbing local peace and stirring youthful desires. Johann Jungnitz (d. 1588) noted during his visitation to the Contubernium that the singing of rowdy German song took place even in the college dining hall. He wrote, 'when at table I would desire the students to think that they are students. If someone were to come here, it is just as if one had come into the tavern'. The next Sunday, Jungnitz continued, two friends, Traubius and Reinhardus, 'sang riding songs [*Reuterliedlein*]'.⁸⁶

Riding songs and the related genre 'street songs' (*Gassenhauer*)—multi-voice songs descendant from the *Minnesang* tradition—were popular with youth who roamed city streets and caroused outdoors.⁸⁷ Usually featuring bawdy texts, riding songs were often well composed and pleasing to the ear. In the preface to his sacred collection *Gassenhauer/ Reuter vnd Bergliedlin* (Frankfurt am Main, 1571), Heinrich Knaust wrote that, whereas the words needed to be replaced with edifying devotional texts, 'the old compositions are good' and should be held 'in high regard on account of their skilful composition'.⁸⁸ Riding songs were banned by school officials across German lands. In Nordhausen, pupils were instructed

⁸⁵ Georg Heer, *Marburger Studentenleben 1527 bis 1927* (Marburg, 1927), ill. 1.

⁸⁶ Merkel (ed.), *Protocollum Contubernii*, 67.

⁸⁷ The Frankfurt anthology *Gassenhauerlin und Reutterliedlin* (1535) contains the largest and most widely circulated collection of riding songs of the sixteenth century. For a facsimile edition, see Hans Joachim Moser (ed.), *Gassenhauerlin und Reutterliedlin* (Augsburg and Köln, 1927).

⁸⁸ Heinrich Knaust, *Gassenhauer/ Reuter vnd Bergliedlin/ Christlich/ moraliter, vnnnd sittlich verendert* (Frankfurt am Main, 1571). I am thankful to Stephen Rose for making me aware of this volume.

that singing door to door while collecting alms was to be fully absent of all ‘riding songs and woo-ing songs, and worldly antics’.⁸⁹

One reason for such prohibitions was that riding songs exploited the ambiguity between singing and shouting, music and noise, and incorporated drunken slurring of words into the song text. The three-voiced song, ‘Ich armes brüderlein’, for instance, combines the activity of drinking in an inn with a nonsensical, noisy text in the refrain.

My poor little self, how I sit here with wine, spending all the money I have, guests here and there, how can I be merry, as wine always cheats me out of all my money, now fetch us wine, hali lahe lahe hali, now fetch us wine.⁹⁰

The image of students squandering their money—frequently lent to them—on drinking was a common one in Heidelberg. The notated musical setting itself indeed places an audible emphasis on the gibberish-like refrain, stylising how the three singers had lost control of their ability for understandable speech. Whereas the three voices sing in independent rhythm in the verses, the singers synchronise rhythmically in the refrain and unite at the arrival of stylised drunken slurring.

Riding songs described vividly the kinds of activities students sought to fill their nights pursuing, acting templates for actual behaviour and as mediums for vicarious experience. The riding song ‘Wolauff, Wolauff’, for example, evokes an image of a young man hearing the night watchman announce the morning as he returns from a night of pleasure.

⁸⁹ Karl Meyer, ‘Die Schulordnung des Gymnasiums der freien Reichsstadt Nordhausen am Harz vom Jahre 1583’, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, ii (1892), 110.

⁹⁰ Moser (ed.), *Gassenhawerlin und Reutterliedlin*, no. XIV.

Arise, arise with loud voice the watchman sings to us, whoever still lays by his love-making soon takes himself away from there. I see the yonder morning light pushing through the clouds.⁹¹

The ‘wooing’ or ‘love-making’ (*Bulen*) invoked here, which students egged one another on to pursue, had its own supporting musical repertory closely related to Reuterlieder, that of *Bulenlieder*. Cross-confessionally, Lutheran, Calvinist and Catholic leaders alike rebuked the young for their preference for *Bulenlieder* over devotional song. Because it could not be assumed ‘that the young people will learn and retain [Gospel] teaching from sermons alone’, Luther endorsed the printing of four- and five-part chorale settings in 1524, in order to ‘wean them away from love ballads and carnal songs and to teach them something of value in their place, thus combining the good with the pleasing, as is proper for youth’.⁹² Similarly, the Catholic priest Johann Hesselbach wrote in 1631 that parents should ‘ponder with penitence and sorrow as soon as your child learns *Bulenlieder* and does not want to learn catechetical and sacred songs and hymns’.⁹³ With students in Heidelberg and elsewhere singing Reutterlieder and *Bulenlieder*, one therefore sees second-, third- and fourth-generation Protestant youth still drawn by music into the same habits of youthful lasciviousness as first-generation Protestants, as music channelled youthful desires and aided in the creation of strong social ties of friendship.

While students may have been unique in possessing a musical repertory that richly captured aspects of their communal life and identity, it goes without saying that male youth were not the only Heidelbergers to foster social identity and friendship ties over group singing. This would have occurred across the social spectrum with social and professional

⁹¹ Ibid., no. XIII.

⁹² Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 18 and 109.

⁹³ Johann Hesselbach, *Postill: Das ist, Auslegung der Evangelien* (Mainz, 1631), 161.

subgroups of the city in any number of ways. Yet the example of students is instructive in two ways. Firstly, it illustrates how a Reformation city reverberated night and day with a wide variety of musical sounds ranging from disruptive noise and shouting to the strumming of lutes and coordinated polyphonic singing. Secondly, the example of students shows how music assisted members of a distinct urban community to create strong ties of friendship with one another, and—crucially—then to engage with competing urban communities as a consolidated and identifiable group. Student identity and friendship, underpinned by both law and tradition, followed the principle of homophily (the ‘birds of a feather flock together’ paradigm), as students used music to shape their own local networks and identity from within.⁹⁴ However, illicit singing also forged countless ‘weak social ties’⁹⁵—encounters that were unstructured, non-institutionally based, and often in passing—which were essential to the unofficial yet cherished rituals of studenthood and relied on townsfolk of all sorts: women (both *ehrbare Mädchen* and prostitutes), tavern owners and tavern-goers, constables and night watchmen, book sellers and peddlers of cheap print, city barbers and doctors, and administrators of university and civic courts.

There was great strength in ‘weak ties’ forged over singing in Reformation Heidelberg. ‘Weak ties’ linked independent social circles and shaped a *modus vivendi* of Heidelberg’s larger social system in which subgroups like students were shaped both from within by their own members and from without by a range of Heidelbergers.⁹⁶ ‘Weak ties’ also challenge the picture painted by some scholars that society after the Reformation operated through a type of social counterpoint, townsfolk being the oppositional ‘discord’ necessary for the ‘harmony’ of students. Such a view misses that conflicting urban groups,

⁹⁴ Miller McPherson, Lynn Smith-Lovin and James M Cook, ‘Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks’, *Annual Review of Sociology*, xxvii (2001).

⁹⁵ The foundational text on weak ties remains Mark S. Granovetter, ‘The Strength of Weak Ties’, *American Journal of Sociology*, lxxvii (1973). See also Derek Keene, ‘Cities and Cultural Exchange’, in Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen (eds.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 2006–2007), ii, esp. 22.

⁹⁶ Charles Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks: Theories, Concepts and Findings* (Oxford, 2012), 30–1.

even at their most oppositional, did not detract from the Heidelberg's overall social coherence. In some ways, the opposite is true. For one, the clashing of city and university fuelled creative and economic activity that underpinned the composition, printing and performance of a range of new secular vocal music—like that of Vögelin or Schein—and as a result enabled the flow of money and information across the city.

Close and repeated physical contact students had with Heidelbergers outside their own closed community also bears witness to the many potential pleasures—not just distress—generated by urban conflict and division. This included the pleasure felt by freeloading students (and often townsfolk) as they feasted and sang drinking songs together at wedding festivities; of a student proudly defending his honour by scrapping with a tavern owner over unpaid loans; of townsfolk and students gleefully throwing insults at one another in the tavern by singing *Spottlieder*; or the pleasures of young men and women sleeping together following the singing of *Bulenlieder* in the street or tavern. In such cases, it is tempting to emphasise the viewpoint of religious and civic authorities that ‘singing indecent songs was always an attack on the social body because it acted as a profound sonic marker of disorder and rebellion’.⁹⁷ But from the perspective of students, social contact and musical performance of these sorts were not disorder or discord. These were loose yet vital urban connections in their own right that provided their own unique pleasures and kept students connected and embedded in the broader urban fabric.

IV.

Domestic Song, Studenthood and Latin Culture

Thus far, music and singing in Heidelberg—in parish churches, and in city streets, taverns, and inns—has been described as a tool for emphasising social differences between urban

⁹⁷ Latour, ‘Disciplining Song’, 38.

communities, and illustrates how expressions of cohesion and difference did not conform to simple binaries of social ‘harmony’ and ‘discord’. But why, given that music both accompanied and incited students’ unbridled rowdiness, did university colleges not just permit but actively encourage students to make music recreationally? Doing away with all musical activity during free time would surely have constituted a decisive step towards silencing the noisy night hours and minimising conflict. What was it about music that made dealing with repeated abuses worthwhile?

For Lutherans and Calvinists alike, possessing musical skill was part of being a good churchman and educator. Luther’s belief that musical proficiency was a prerequisite for pastoral or educational service was echoed by the Bernese Calvinist theologian Valentin Ampelander (d. 1587). In 1587, Ampelander advised his son Rudolph (1566–1605), a student of theology at Heidelberg’s Calvinist Collegium Sapientiae, not to neglect music during his student years, in order ‘that you are in the future more suited for ecclesiastical functions’. Valentin concluded with the admonition to ‘organise your studies in such a way that you are [musically] prepared and capable, be it that you are wanted for scholarly or for ecclesiastical functions in the future’.⁹⁸ Possessing skill in music and marshalling its powers, especially for students en route to becoming future administrators of social discipline, enabled students to grow into responsible men who could supervise the liturgical and recreational musical activities of parishioners or pupils under their charge, and help to build strong parish communities where they would eventually serve.

Resembling strict monastic models, the routines of Heidelberg’s colleges ensured that students engaged regularly with music. Describing life in the Collegium Sapientiae, Rudolph reported that ‘at five o’clock every single day, at the rising of the sun, as well as at eight o’clock with its setting, we sing our chapters [of the psalms]. We never enter the tables, never

⁹⁸ Hermann Hagen (ed.), *Briefe von Heidelberger Professoren und Studenten verfasst vor dreihundert Jahren* (Bern, 1896), 60.

are the tables taken away, unless we first sing certain parts'.⁹⁹ Swiss student Huldreich Torgus elaborated in November 1585 that professors of theology Georg Sohn and David Pareus led the singing, adding that the psalms sung were those 'set in the compendium by Lobwasser', the German translation of the Genevan Psalter by the Königsberg jurist, Ambrosius Lobwasser.¹⁰⁰ It is unknown what students sang during Lutheran periods in Heidelberg, but psalm singing by students was not unique to the Calvinist Collegium Sapientiae and was practised in all three colleges as well as the Neckarschule and Pädagogium.¹⁰¹

On the surface, reports that university students sang German psalms might not seem noteworthy. Heidelberg was located in a German territory, and Calvinists around Europe were committed to singing in the vernacular for the sake of intelligibility.¹⁰² Moreover, the future pastors studying in the College would need to be familiar with the vernacular repertory that would be sung, ideally daily, by their parishioners in domestic contexts. Yet, vernacular singing ran deeply contrary to the medieval custom of university life that students and professors speak only in Latin, a custom which remained in force well into the eighteenth century. The statutes of the Faculty of Arts required that 'students apply themselves at all times to speaking in Latin, where they live and whenever they are with one another'.¹⁰³ Statutes of the Contubernium similarly required 'all inhabitants of the Burse to use the Latin language when with one another, be it outside or inside the college'.¹⁰⁴ These requirements applied also to the Neckarschule.¹⁰⁵

Conducting all academic and recreational activities in Latin was thus a well-established custom of university life that possessed curricular benefits. Crucially, it also

⁹⁹ Ibid., 66.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 77.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 68; Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*, 57.

¹⁰² Garside, 'Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music', 31–2.

¹⁰³ August Thorbecke (ed.), *Statuten und Reformationen der Universität Heidelberg vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1891), 110.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 140.

¹⁰⁵ Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*, 61.

enabled communication between German and foreign students, a pressing need for the highly diverse and international student population of Heidelberg. From 1560 to the 1610s, Heidelberg's student population consisted of roughly 30 per cent foreign students, peaking at around 40 per cent in 1600.¹⁰⁶ Such percentages are high compared to nearby universities in southwest Germany. As Claus-Peter Clasen points out, only 2 per cent of the student population in Tübingen was foreign.¹⁰⁷ The total percentage of foreign students in Heidelberg remained relatively constant until the Thirty Years' War, but the nationalities represented among these foreigners changed considerably. In the 1570s almost half of the foreign students were French or Walloon. After 1590 the number of French-speaking students gradually declined, and despite Heidelberg's considerable distance from Eastern Europe, 35 per cent of foreign students came from Poland, Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary.¹⁰⁸

Foreign students in Heidelberg were not always proficient in German. In 1597 Professor of Law Petrus Heymann complained when he was required to read publicly the high court ordinances, as 'the foreigners who study law here would not benefit, as the ordinances are written in German'.¹⁰⁹ Foreign students sometimes undertook a period of language study before continuing in the university. In 1588 the French schoolmaster, Jakob Villi, housed foreign students from Geneva, France and the Low Countries, some of whom had arrived in Heidelberg in order to 'learn the German language'.¹¹⁰ Proficiency in German was not even guaranteed among the international professorship in Heidelberg, as Kenneth Austin has suggested regarding Tremellius.¹¹¹ Elsewhere in Germany, special arrangements were made for accommodating foreign students and their tenuous abilities with the

¹⁰⁶ Franz Eulenburg, *Die Frequenz der deutschen Universitäten von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1904), 112; Clasen, *Palatinate in European History*, 37–8.

¹⁰⁷ Clasen, *Palatinate in European History*, 37; Hilde de Ridder-Symeons, 'Mobility', in Hilde de Ridder-Symeons (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1992), i, 422.

¹⁰⁸ Clasen, *Palatinate in European History*, 37–8.

¹⁰⁹ Winkelmann (ed.), *Urkundenbuch*, ii, 172.

¹¹⁰ Heidelberg was home to a small French school, connected to a small French church, which educated the children of Francophone refugees and university members. Mays and Christ, 'Einwohnerverzeichnis', 194.

¹¹¹ Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism: The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c.1510–1580)* (Aldershot, 2007), 139.

vernacular, especially students from Eastern Europe. In 1540s Wittenberg, Melanchthon conducted services in Latin for Hungarian students who spoke little German and could not take the Eucharist from Luther in German services.¹¹² Thus, whereas Heidelberg's student population may have appeared to outsiders to be a strong and homogenous community, in reality it consisted of smaller linguistic and cultural subgroups which needed a platform over which to communicate and cohere.

Communal singing in German in Heidelberg's colleges during the 1580s, as suggested by Ampelander and Torgus, clearly ran contrary to a custom of university life. But more importantly, it meant a violation of a fundamental Calvinist principle of intelligibility of scriptural text, as the German psalm texts were (wholly or partly) unintelligible to its international student population. Foreign Calvinist students—likely knowledgeable of the Genevan tunes—perhaps sang along in their own language, or purchased German psalters upon arrival and sang with limited understanding of the German text.¹¹³ Whatever the case, it was within this polyglot environment that two principal texts of Calvinism were translated into Latin and set to music for four voices for performance by Heidelberg's youth and student population. The first was *Psalmorum Davidis* (n.p., 1596), an edition of the Genevan Psalter translated into Latin by schoolmaster Andreas Spethe, dedicated to Elector Friedrich IV and published by Heidelberg bookseller Peter Mareschall;¹¹⁴ the second was *In Christianae Religionis synopsis* (1594), a Latin-texted musical catechism based on the Heidelberg Catechism, authored by Heidelberg student and bookbinder, Joachim Christian Sachs.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay, 'Warum Melanchthon? Über die Wirkung Melanchthons im ehemaligen Ungarn', in Günter Frank and Martin Treu (eds.), *Melanchthon und Europa*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 2001), i, 277.

¹¹³ Such scenarios are suggested by an extant psalter printed in Heidelberg in 1574, in which a sixteenth-century reader added above each of Lobwasser's German psalm settings the opening line in French of each psalm from the Genevan setting. Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Theol.oct.10859.

¹¹⁴ The *Psalmorum Davidis* (n.p., 1596) was created by Spethe, an administrator in Westerburg in a satellite territory of the House of Leiningen (present-day Rheinland-Pfalz).

¹¹⁵ *In Christianae religionis synopsis* survives as an autograph manuscript in the Vatican Library as part of the Bibliotheca Palatina (Palat.Lat. 1738). Elmar Mittler (ed.), *Bibliotheca Palatina: Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 8. Juli bis 2. November 1986, Heiliggeistkirche Heidelberg* (Heidelberg, 1986), 364–5.

Circulating in Heidelberg during the 1590s, these two musical volumes appeared at a time when student diversity was at its height: when the number of French and Dutch students was declining and the number of students from Bohemia, Hungary, Poland and Moravia was rising steeply. And while it was possible for an individual to read and perform the contents of these two books privately, their four-voice musical settings suggest that these Calvinist texts were envisioned to build religious piety and supplement students' education in the Latin language in communal settings where multiple readers were present.

Heidelberg's Calvinist church orders left no place for Latin texts in public worship. Latin was understood by only a small minority of elite Heidelbergers, and the sound of Latin-texted vocal music carried strong associations with Catholic and (to a certain extent) Lutheran culture. Naturally, Latin remained firmly in place in university environments following the Reformation as a ritual of academic life and because of its curricular benefits. However, against the larger urban backdrop it can be argued that yet another factor guided authorities' support for Latin culture. That is, that colleges served as students' homes for several years, and devotional activities there should be conducted like any other household in Heidelberg: in a language understood by and edifying to the household's members, even if that language differed from public worship. After all, Heidelberg's university was not the only international community in the city. At least fifty Francophone households in Heidelberg are known to scholars, in addition to the hundreds of homes of Dutch- and French-speaking Calvinists spread between Heidelberg and the nearby Palatine towns of Frankenthal, Schönau and Otterberg.¹¹⁶ And just as Latin musical settings were created for the diverse student population, Heidelberg printers also released the same corpus of devotional material—the Genevan Psalter and Heidelberg Catechism—in French and Dutch,

¹¹⁶ A. von den Velden (ed.), *Das Kirchenbuch der französischen reformierten Gemeinde zu Heidelberg 1569–1577 und Frankenthal in der Pfalz 1577–1596* (Weimar, 1908); Gerhard Kaller, 'Die Anfänge der kurpfälzischen Exulantengemeinden Frankenthal, Schönau, Heidelberg und Otterberg (1562–1590)', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, cxlvii (1999).

in addition to German. Such diversity of literature ensured that all households in Heidelberg and the Palatinate—regardless of legal jurisdiction or parish location, discussed in Section II—would benefit from ‘every teaching, comfort and reform’ offered by domestic devotional reading and singing.¹¹⁷ At any one time, therefore, the soundscape of devotional singing in Calvinist Heidelberg was markedly polyglot. And domestic singing in German, French, Dutch and Latin in Heidelberg was not a mark of disunity but was something to be encouraged as Calvinists sought to fulfil in local contexts the Great Commission of baptising and making disciples of all nations.¹¹⁸

Collective devotional singing of core Calvinist texts helped Heidelberg’s student community to blend into the urban fabric, not least because their corporate singing—like singing in non-university residences—took place around the table. Occurring at least twice daily, at breakfast and dinner, Protestant table singing—fundamental to maintaining a well-ordered *Hauskirche*¹¹⁹—provided instruction and encouragement through its pious texts, and helped to form and deepen kinship bonds between members of the same household. Though not blood relatives, professors and students related to one another in ways similar to that of family members. Professors were charged with the moral and intellectual development of their students, professors (and indeed older students) catechised younger students, and they gathered together around the table to voice their thanks daily to God as they sought to bear

¹¹⁷ *Psalmen Davids, nach Frantzösischer Melodey...* (Heidelberg, 1612), unpaginated preface. See Petrus Dathenus, *De Psalmen Davids, ende ander lofsanghen...* (Heidelberg, 1566). Heidelberg printer Jerome Commelin also printed a bi-lingual edition of the Genevan psalter in French and German which is no longer extant. See Wilhelm Port, *Hieronymus Commelinus, 1550–1597: Leben und Werk eines Heidelberger Druck-Verlegers* (Leipzig, 1938), 122. On non-German editions of the Heidelberg Catechism, see Karin Maag, ‘Early Editions and Translations of the Heidelberg Catechism’, in Lyle Bierma *et al.* (eds.), *An Introduction to the Heidelberg Catechism: Sources, History and Theology* (Grand Rapids, 2005).

¹¹⁸ Matthew 28:19. This local activity preceded the more concerted missionizing efforts of the seventeenth and especially eighteenth centuries. For Calvin, making disciples was less the task of the laity and more of magisterial and state reform. John Calvin, *A Harmony of the Gospels, Matthew Mark and Luke*, ed. David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance (Edinburgh, 1972), vol. 3, 250–56.

¹¹⁹ On *Hauskirchen*, see Patrice Veit, ‘L’Eglise à la maison. La dévotion privée luthérienne dans l’Allemagne du XVIIe siècle’, in *Homo Religiosus, Autour de Jean Delumeau* (Paris, 1997); Stephen Rose, ‘“Haus Kirchen Cantorei”: Lutheran domestic devotional music in the age of confessionalisation’, in Gabriele Haug-Moritz, Michael Fischer and Norbert Haag (eds.), *Musik in neuzeitlichen Konfessionskulturen (16.–19. Jahrhundert): Räume – Medien – Funktionen* (Ostfildern, 2013).

graciously with one another in close quarters. As Joachim Magdeburg wrote in his *Christliche und tröstliche Tischgesenge* (Erfurt, 1572), Protestant table singing like that described earlier by Ampelander enabled household residents to ‘honour, praise and thank’ a loving God for his gracious provision of the necessities of life. It also occasioned the close coordination—of rhythm and pitch—of different yet complementary voices which, it was believed, strengthened bonds between singers. Magdeburg, who dedicated the volume to his two sons, envisioned the daily singing of four-part psalm and hymn arrangements leading his sons ‘to be one, as loving brothers...to live with one another lovingly and as friends, serving one another gladly’.¹²⁰

Bonds of kinship and friendship forged in the homes of both town and gown not only took sonic expression, but were also concretized through material objects, as members of the same household inscribed and exchanged their music books.¹²¹ In Heidelberg, a psalter owned by the Lutheran Elector Ludwig VI (r.1576–1583) was inscribed by four members of his electoral family: his father Friedrich III, his brother Johann Casimir, his sister Anna Elisabeth, and his wife Elisabeth of Hesse (see Ill. 6).¹²² Ludwig’s psalter illustrates the strength of familial bonds which rivalled—indeed surpassed—those of confessional belief. For Ludwig VI’s psalter—itsself a Calvinist psalter printed in Heidelberg in 1567—contains pious messages not just from his wife, a fellow Lutheran, but also from his Calvinist siblings and father, the latter of whose territorial Calvinist reforms Ludwig would later overturn in 1576.

Daily table singing—for city and university alike—in a language understood by members of a household was intended to drive residents towards greater Christian charity and

¹²⁰ Joachim Magdeburg, *Christliche und tröstliche Tischgesenge* (Erfurt, 1572), sig. Bb2v.

¹²¹ On the uses of hymnbooks in the Protestant household, see Patrice Veit, ‘Das Gesangbuch in der Praxis Pietatis der Lutheraner’, in Hans Christoph Rublack (ed.), *Die lutherische Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland* (Gütersloh, 1992); Veit, ‘Das Gesangbuch als Quelle lutherischer Frömmigkeit’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, lxxix (1988).

¹²² *Psalmen und Geistliche Lieder* (Heidelberg, 1567). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Bibliotheca Palatina, G404/G405.

love for one another. Through domestic singing of Genevan repertoires, student residences blended into the urban fabric as Latin-texted devotional music books presented students with the same raw Calvinist doctrine that city residents heard preached from Heidelberg's pulpits, were taught in weekly catechism classes, and recited and sang over dinner tables. Yet at the same time, this connection across university and city populations naturally was sharply undercut by the very features which made the Latin-texted musical settings of the Genevan psalter and Heidelberg Catechism most appropriate for students. Even as domestic singing in Latin—just like listening to a sermon or reciting the Heidelberg catechism in Latin¹²³—linked Heidelberg's international student body with one another by affirming their social identity as students, it excluded most other residents of the city. Take as an example the tailor Paulus Fang and his wife, and the day labourer Wendel Baur and his wife and two children. These families resided in the *Augustinergasse* across the street from the Collegium Sapientiae, and they plausibly heard the group singing of university students in Latin as it resounded morning and evening beyond the walls of the dining hall into neighbouring streets.¹²⁴ Fang, Baur and their families—although probably unskilled in Latin and unable to understand the Latin words sung by the students—would very likely have recognised the Genevan tunes sung by students from Spethe's *Psalmorum Davidis*. While the students sang, they may have sung along with the corresponding German psalm texts or simply hummed the Genevan tune, as they prepared for their day or went about working at home.

To overlook such linguistic differences would be to miss the ways in which social features of a household conditioned the performance of domestic devotional music. In sixteenth-century Heidelberg, that is, one household's singing might be incomprehensible to immediate neighbours; this would have held true for German neighbours of French- and Dutch-speaking households as well. Such divisions presage a paradox that students training

¹²³ These activities were also practised in the Collegium Sapientiae. See Hagen, *Briefe*, 77.

¹²⁴ Mays and Christ, 'Einwohnerverzeichnis', 206.

to be pastors would experience later in their careers. Namely, that pastors and their parishioners may have been cut from the same confessional cloth, but pastors after the Reformation, like their late medieval clerical predecessors, operated on a singular social plane distinctive from the laity. For students of the Collegium Sapientiae especially, this paradox took expression even during their student days in their seating in the Heiliggeistkirche: worshipping together with Heidelberg's laity and singing hymn texts like Luther's *Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein* that praised their unity, yet fully demarcated from the laity and non-theology students, separated by the centuries-old rood screen. Separating members of the Collegium Sapientiae from the laity takes on greater significance in light of the leading role the college played in promoting irenicism, a theological movement based in Heidelberg dedicated to reconciling German Calvinism with Lutheranism (a strategic movement, given that Calvinism was still outlawed in the empire) on the basis of shared theological fundamentals and a perceived mutual debt to the reforming work of Luther. Therefore, as Calvinist members of the Collegium went about, in the words of Howard Hotson, 'seeking fraternal relations' with Lutherans and actively working to bridge a widening Protestant divide in the empire, we see that week by week Collegium Sapientiae members nevertheless perpetuated a sharp social division with local brothers and sisters that reflected their own sense of distinction and privilege.¹²⁵

Lastly, that students sang in a language unto themselves signals that student engagement with their local urban environment was, of course, not driven purely by local concerns. Students' capacity to connect one another through an exclusive, trans-confessional academic culture persisted in the century after the Reformation. Music, even as it particularised the sonic cultures of students in Heidelberg, connected them with the more

¹²⁵ Howard Hotson, 'Irenicism in the Confessional Age: The Holy Roman Empire, 1563–1648', in Howard Louthan and Randall C. Zachman (eds.), *Conciliation and Confession: the Struggle for Unity in the Age of Reform, 1415–1648* (Notre Dame, 2004), 244–245.

universal social world of students across Reformation Europe. In contrast to the Genevan tunes of Spethe's Latin psalter (tunes which were recognisable to Heidelbergers like Fang and Baur), Sachs's versified Heidelberg Catechism in Latin used language and melodic material unknown to most city residents—what Sachs called 'well-known tunes' (*melodiis illustrata*). By 'well known', Sachs did not mean tunes circulating among learned and lay alike, but rather melodies well known to schoolboys and university students across the confessional spectrum who sang them regularly throughout their educational careers—from school through university—as part of their instruction in Latin, music, and the Bible.

Sachs selected nine tunes to set the catechetical texts *In Christianae religionis synopsis*. While two of the melodies have unknown concordances, the remaining seven originated in publications intended exclusively for use in educational contexts. Sachs drew one melody ('Ut queant laxis'), a medieval Latin hymn for St John the Baptist set in Sapphic metre, from Heinrich Glarean's influential music theory treatise, *Dodecachordon* (Basel, 1547).¹²⁶ Significantly, the six remaining melodies originated in one source: George Buchanan's Latin psalm paraphrases, *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica*.¹²⁷ Published initially as verse alone, Buchanan's paraphrases were edited by Rostock professor Nathan Chytraeus and fitted to newly composed four-voice musical settings by Statius Olthoff, cantor in Rostock, who intended his psalm settings both to deepen the learning of Horatian odes in the humanist classroom and to foster piety.¹²⁸

Through Sachs's combination of Latin text and tunes drawn from Glarean and Buchanan, student-singers expressed their belonging in two communities simultaneously. Whereas students were instructed in Calvinist doctrine via the catechetical text, the tunes—

¹²⁶ Heinrich Glarean, *Dodecachordon*, trans. Clement A. Miller, 2 vols. ([Rome], American Institute of Musicology, 1965), ii, 520.

¹²⁷ George Buchanan, *Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis poetica*, ed. Nathan Chytraeus (Frankfurt am Main, 1585). Chytraeus's edition was reprinted in numerous German cities, particularly Calvinist Herborn by Christoph Corvinus.

¹²⁸ Benedikt Widmann, 'Die Kompositionen der Psalmen von Statius Olthof', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, v (1889).

popular in academic environments across the confessional world—signalled their place in a trans-confessional brotherhood of students that linked Heidelberg to an international constellation of academic communities. Glarean's *Dodecachordon*, developed while Glarean was in Catholic Freiburg, circulated widely across the confessional spectrum, in part because the musical and compositional principles contained therein were valued by Protestants and Catholics, and in part because of the wide confessional appeal of the repertory he selected.¹²⁹

Similarly, Oltoff's four-part musical settings of Buchanan's psalm paraphrases enjoyed a rich trans-confessional reception across Lutheran and Calvinist Germany, in great measure because of the simplicity of the tunes which could be learnt quickly. Numerous extant copies of Buchanan's psalm paraphrases printed in Calvinist Herborn underscore how fluidly these editions circulated in academic environments across confessional lines. Extant copies also highlight how Buchanan's psalms became a material platform over which students—similar to members of the same biological family—commemorated the kinship-like relationships they forged with other students and their professors. Olaus Lixander, a Swedish student of Lutheran theology in Wittenberg and Rostock in the 1590s, used his 1588 Herborn edition of Buchanan's psalms as his *album amicorum*, collecting nearly thirty signatures of his professors and fellow students.¹³⁰ In electoral Saxony, two school pupils at the electoral school in Naumburg (the Schulpforta) celebrated their friendship by exchanging a Herborn copy of Buchanan's psalter from 1600 which bears the inscription: 'Joachim Alberti von Machwitz gave this as a gift to his illustrious friend Martin Kilian, out of grateful remembrance, at the moment when he was departing from the Gymnasium [Schulpforta], the year of Christ 1605'.¹³¹ Thus, the tunes of the Buchanan psalter, in addition to being easy to memorise, carried deep meaning for many students. They facilitated the learning of

¹²⁹ Early Renaissance polyphony of Franco-Flemish composers like Jacob Obrecht stood alongside compositions by Josquin des Prez, a favourite of Luther, and Lutheran composer Sixt Dietrich, who lectured on music in Wittenberg.

¹³⁰ University Library, Uppsala, Cod. Y. 84.

¹³¹ British Library, London, Hirsch III.968.

Buchanan's texts, but they also called to mind a student's inner circle of school and university ties, and memories of their shared experiences. Sachs's preference for these tunes in *In Christianae religionis synopsis* could therefore hardly be accidental. Their recognisability and potential for carrying deep meaning among students—meaning which was lost on mainline Heidelbergers—may have helped to imprint the pious Calvinist texts ever more deeply onto the mind and heart of the singer. At the same time, Sachs's *melodiis illustrata* reinforced a social identity of students that blurred confessional lines and spanned considerable geographical distance, linking Heidelberg students to Catholic readers of the *Dodecachordon* in places like Ingolstadt and Freiburg, to Lutheran students of Uppsala, Rostock and Wittenberg, and to fellow Calvinists in Herborn.

V.

Conclusion

Having explored three genres of music—and three spatial and social contexts for music making—in Heidelberg, I now return to the starting-point of this enquiry: the role of music in forging social unity in the Reformation.

From the early days of the Reformation, Protestant leaders viewed music as a vital means of not only educating their followers, but also of creating bonds within diverse and dispersed communities. There might be some truth to the claim that corporate singing brought all levels of the Reformation social stratum into 'remarkably harmonious consort', as one scholar puts it.¹³² But this is perhaps too easy a truth, for this article has argued that the unity of a differentiated urban society like Heidelberg was not based on coherence or consensus, counterparts of harmony. Instead, in contrast to Tremellius's description quoted at the beginning of this article, the unique power of music on the landscape of the Reformation lay

¹³² Brown, *Singing the Gospel*, 76.

not in its ability to dissolve or bridge social difference to create the ‘harmony of one choir’, but in the malleability of song which agents could use to mirror and reinforce the social contours of their communities and negotiate divisions within urban systems.

Robert Scribner noted in 1975 that ‘the examination of the interplay of social and religious forces in the Reformation has been conducted too one-sidedly in terms of the religious movements, while the complexity of social movements and social conflicts has been too readily neglected’.¹³³ While Scribner’s challenge to examine the role of social conflict in shaping Reformation experience has been taken up by scholars in a variety of ways, it has largely passed historians of Reformation music by. Recent scholarship has tended to concentrate on the intersection of music and conflict principally in relation to religion, above all opposing confessional movements and communities.¹³⁴ However, in this article I have argued for—indeed, insisted upon—a shift in scholarly focus to one more evenly balanced between religious and social movements. Musical experience in the Reformation, as indeed musical experience in any other period, was conditioned not simply by beliefs—religious or otherwise—but by a range of social factors. As the case of Heidelberg suggests, scholars of Reformation music must examine not just what a person believed, but also where that person lived and who with, what their legal status was, how old a person was, who a person knew, what their level of literacy was, the language they spoke, and where and what type of parish church that person attended.

This list of social factors is hardly exhaustive and future research will surely add to it. To take just one further example—the cultures of song analysed in this article have been largely masculine—how was music’s capacity for social differential and integration linked to gendered practices and ideologies? Student singing largely excluded female voices, making it yet another way in which musical cultures marked out divisions in the social order.

¹³³ Scribner, ‘Civic Unity and the Reformation’, 58.

¹³⁴ Notable exceptions include Rose, ‘Schein’s Occasional Music and the Social Order’ and Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety*.

Understanding the myriad genderings of musical creativity and action in Reformation Europe will require analysing the integration of all voices into domestic cultures of music making, in addition to the new prominence given to children's and women's voices in congregational song, including the movement of melodies to soprano parts.¹³⁵ Moreover, in parish churches without resources like schoolboys or choirs to assist congregational singing, it is conceivable that congregants in some instances, women included, may actually have been more involved in corporate singing to compensate for the lack of musical provisions or infrastructure. In this way, the scarcity of resources found in poorer, less-educated congregations like the Spitalkirche, even while entrenching stratification, may nevertheless have resulted in different—possibly greater—levels of lay involvement. Such was certainly the case elsewhere in Reformation Europe. Clandestine Catholic communities in the Protestant Dutch Republic, like underground Protestant communities in the Catholic Southern Netherlands, witnessed firsthand how a lack of clergy and infrastructure did not stifle lay participation in religious activities, but instead mobilised lay men and women to greater levels of involvement in leading music, preaching, and visiting the sick.¹³⁶

Much of the music analysed in this article is available to us because of its notated transmission in manuscript and print—but oral transmission of music certainly played important roles in the sound culture of Reformation Heidelberg. Although few sources survive, it is likely that Heidelberg's professional communities of fishermen, wine growers, and miners—like miners in Saxony—had their own vocal repertoires and sound cultures over which they bonded and passed the time during working hours.¹³⁷ Francophone and Dutch-speaking exiles, many of whom were textile workers, likely sang French and Netherlandish

¹³⁵ On voicing in domestic contexts, see Matthew Laube, 'Materializing Music in the Lutheran Home', *Past and Present*, Suppl. 12 (2017), esp. 116.

¹³⁶ Judith Pollmann, 'Burying the Dead; Reliving the Past: Ritual, Resentment and Sacred Space in the Dutch Republic', in Benjamin Kaplan *et al.* (eds.), *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands c.1570–1720* (Manchester, 2009), 89–90; P. Beuzart, 'Le Protestantisme à Douai dans la première moitié du XVII^e Siècle', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, lxi (1912).

¹³⁷ For instance, see Wolfgang Meyerpegk's *Etliche Bergkreien geistlich und weltlich* (Zwickau, 1531).

popular songs, sacred and secular, at home, during their working hours, and in convivial gatherings. Such singing—no less than the Latin singing of students—forged community and fostered international bonds across great geographical distance, even as it marked out distinctive group identities. No song repertoire or performance style—notated or non-notated, Latin or vernacular—should be viewed as superior to another. For difference, conflict, and discrepancies in the urban system were not attacks on the body social, but generated modes and spaces in which agents across social categories could exercise creativity and cultivate identities through individual and corporate music making.